/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
● 183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

[Introductory, P. iii:]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121 583 582 183 This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of [648]

[1]Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*622 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183
*621 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
921 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
152 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
*621

*[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

583 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political
582 and military needs of a given village. If it is more
621 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes
583 greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not
582 followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man
183 (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have
628 reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge
in or request military aid from that other village.

628 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for
574 to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest
726 consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is
562 invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills
the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous
feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups
628 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally
583 is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough
582 women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous.
Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing
of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more
women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation
in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to
have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into
marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kąobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yąnomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*621 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*628 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and
835 began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
• 183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

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835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krämi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminol[illegible]. Whenever I

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601
• 183 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183
582 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
[162] could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[562] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621
578 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

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[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, BëxËbõwË, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

621 622 613 604 736 601 554 183 582

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shë and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men.

583 601 183 582

When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 183 582

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 121 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

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[1] After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamashuadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horioriböwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

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sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rereburi, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawä's village now situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: they relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

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*628 related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have
581 lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they
582 enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

*621 This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and
*628 Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group.
581 Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects,
682 they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving [F12] all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mǫmariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mǫmariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

*628 Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed
726 between Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu
581 was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari
582 villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawä's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawä's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowä-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

*628 Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations.
581 It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry
582 women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist
• [183] as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

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of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life[19]

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

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fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as PaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their